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KINSHIP TERMS AND THE FAMILY BAND AMONG THE NORTHEASTERN ALGONKIAN¹

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THE necessary words of caution have been duly sounded by Kroeber, Lowie, and Sapir against overconfidence in the use of kinship terminologies for the interpretation of sociological phenomena. Accordingly, the following brief report, hardly more than a sketch, on kinship in the northeast is presented not with the design of trying to reconstruct the form of an earlier type of society but simply to test an institution by determining whether the present kinship nomenclature is consistent with social conditions as we know them. It seems, consequently, strictly legitimate, without engaging in the more serious considerations of origin, to apply a system of kinship terms to social practice to learn if the ties of affinity expressed in the terms are in correspondence with the ties of actual association. If there is a lack of adjustment between the two we may, I think, assume that there have been changes in one or the other which challenge explanation. On the other hand, if the kinship system does not emphatically indicate a social structure more exogamic, or a line of descent more determined than that which prevails at the time when the present social régime is in sway, I think we may say that the correspondence in the kinship and social systems shows them to be normal and characteristic. Some initial studies of kinship are indeed greatly needed from the northeastern

¹ Read before the American Anthropological Association, New York, 1916.

Algonkian region where native culture is relatively simple and social organization as loose as in the northern Woodland and Plateau areas. A complete analysis and tabulation of the terms from all of the local tribal groups is much to be desired, but such an analysis I have not been able as yet to complete. I may, however, present briefly some material bearing on this topic collected from the Montagnais, Abenaki, Micmac, Malecite, and Penobscot, all of which are organized loosely on the simple basis of the territorial family.

In the social groupings which we find prevalent among all the Algonkians of the north and east, where the family surname and the inheritance of family territories descends through the father, we should expect to find the closer lineal affinities occurring on the father's side. Assuming, also, that in the case of the death of the father of the family one of his brothers assumes authority over the children until the sons are of age, and through the practice of the levirate, the paternal uncle becomes the stepfather of the orphans, the group classification of terms would tend to be on the father's side, as it would in other cases, for instance, where patrilineal (gentile) descent is in vogue.

The characteristics of a kinship system which is partially, but not radically, classificatory, appear here widely extended among non-exogamic tribes. Quite as might be expected, the Ojibwa are the only people of the culture area having a definite gentile organization, and do have a more radically classificatory system. This is quite consistent with our view as long as it restricts itself to the tribes of the northern region and, furthermore, it coincides with the rule formulated by several writers that there is considerable correlation between exogamy and the merging of lineal and collateral relatives.

Let us examine the categories among the northern tribes. In the terminology of the Ojibwa and Montagnais, the terms denoting paternal and maternal aunt and uncle, and their children, are not differentiated, nor are those denoting fraternal and sororal nieces and nephews; the father's brother is distinguished from the father, the mother's sister from the mother, and children from nephews

and nieces. Furthermore, cousins of all classes are addressed as brothers and sisters or by terms derived etymologically from these. Among the Wabanaki south of the St. Lawrence, from whom we have detailed Malecite and Penobscot lists, however, the systems are even less classificatory than the preceding and differ in the following features from those of the north St. Lawrence group. Here, paternal and maternal aunts are distinguished by different terms which are not synonymous with either father or mother, and nieces are distinguished from daughters only by the diminutive, while besides, in Malecite in the term for nephew there is some irregularity. In other respects, however, the terms are, so far as we are now concerned, similar in one aspect of their so-called non-exogamic character to those of the north St. Lawrence area.

In the foregoing remarks we have seen that in the northern Algonkian region the non-exogamous tribes have a consistently non-exogamous system of kinship terms. The same correlation has been reported as existing among the Eskimo, the tribes of the Mackenzie river, the Plateau area and to a certain extent those of California. In this connection the normality of the family territorial band as a social unit viewed in the light of kinship terms is further shown by investigation of the step-relationship terms. Investigation in social practice shows that the step-relationship, particularly the uncle-nephew one, is very close among hunting tribes, possibly because of the institution of the levirate as well as on account of the practice of sharing the inherited family hunting territories among brothers. The positive evidence would, of course, hardly be sufficient to validate the reconstruction of the family territorial group as the original social unit among all the northern tribes nor to prove its absolute fundamentality in the regions where its prevalence is characteristic. Yet it would be difficult to imagine what type of organization could have preceded the one we are considering.¹

¹ Dr. Michelson in a recent paper on Algonkian terminology ("Terms of Relationship and Social Organization," *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, vol. 2, 1916) weighs certain phenomena, the prevalence of male descent, linguistic similarity and the application of uncle-nephew, father-son terms. The material presented here agrees in part with his views.

In the case of the terms among all the northern Algonkian so far reported on, a certain degree of classification has attracted attention. It is obvious, however, from the absence of unilateral groupings in the terms that the exogamic rule is not exclusively implied here. The nature of the classifying principle is shown in the fairly close similarity prevailing among the Ojibwa, Montagnais, Penobscot, and Malecite in the terms denoting paternal uncle or aunt and grandparent.¹ Penobscot, furthermore, for example, expresses brother in general and paternal uncle by etymologically related terms. Brothers and sisters are classed with cousins on both sides. Terms for the nieces, which are cognate among the dialects of the northeast, are all similar in derivation to the term for daughter as it appears in Penobscot and Malecite. Besides these instances there are others indicating classification broadly among relatives by marriage.

Yet, considering more the character than the quantitative force of this evidence, I think it is fairly clear that the supposition of regular gentile foundation underlying the classifying tendency here is not absolutely necessary. It seems to my mind that the family territorial band, with its characteristic paternal inheritance and paternal name identity, obtrudes itself rationally as affording an idea of the under-structure of the kinship scheme in the whole area, even recognizing the variation in the degree of classification occurring in the different tribes concerned. The agreement in these systems coincides with the agreeing elements in their social structure. Hence, I see little reason for concluding that where one tribe, like the Ojibwa, differs from the others in having a gentile system intercrossed with the family grouping, that the gentile system alone should be sought for as the social factor.

The most interest, however, attaches itself to certain terms which

¹ In Montagnais, nieces on both sides and aunts on both sides are denoted by related terms. Grandmother and paternal uncle or aunt are also expressed by terms etymologically related in Montagnais; the same correlation appears in the cognate Malecite terms between grandmother and paternal aunt and mother's brother's wife, while Timagami Ojibwa denotes this irregular connection by a similarity in terms for grandfather, paternal uncle and stepfather. The other terms discussed in the section above may be found in the tabulated lists at the end of this paper.

I will soon briefly present. These seem to describe, as far as kinship terms are apt to, the conditions prevailing in practice in the family hunting bands. In view of the associations which would theoretically prevail between a man, his father, his father's brother, and his son-in-law in a family group where these men are hunting companions, the following terms carry fairly obvious indications. It is hardly necessary to say, at this point, that the associations just mentioned actually do prevail throughout these tribes, even in special cases where the levirate does not come into operation, the father's brother is consciously looked upon as something of a protector, especially so in case of a father's death or disablement. Nephews and nieces are commonly adopted by the paternal uncle and often, moreover, a young man will actually receive his hunting training from his father's brother instead of from his father.

Practical circumstances also tend to break up the natural groupings of children, nephews and nieces and weld them into new family units. An exceedingly high mortality among children as well as among adults among these miserable half-starved, half-frozen hunters,¹ causes the distribution of orphans or half-orphans not only in the interests of the children themselves but in the interest of their foster-parents as well. One of the very common principles of adoption is for the grandmother to become guardian of bereaved grandchildren. Among the Penobscot today there are four families living under this arrangement and the number of tales in which the hero is an orphan or an abandoned child adopted and raised by the grandmother is very striking everywhere in the north. I dare say that one fourth of the more important or human narrative tales among the Wabanaki and Montagnais bear this out. Accordingly, the tendency to classify such terms as grandmother and paternal aunt—both of which are potential stepmothers—by related terms, is in remarkable accordance with the practice of adoption.²

¹ The reader may judge of this matter for himself from the following instance. In 1912 I was told by the chief of the Montagnais and Naskapi at the mouth of the Moisie river, southern Labrador, numbering about four hundred, that during the preceding winter the band had lost fourteen able-bodied men and twenty-four children through starvation, freezing and disease while in the interior on their hunting grounds.

² The Penobscot informant says "Grandmother takes the place of mother."

Let us glance again at the terms. The Penobscot express the brother, the male cousins on both sides, and the paternal uncle in a similar category, the term for paternal uncle being evidently a derivation from the others. The Malecite denotes the nephews, fraternal or sororal, by a term which, I can only say with caution, seems to contain a diminutive of the stem "work," as though the relationship involves the idea of cooperative labor. Again perhaps there is something in the fact that Timagami Ojibwa, where the terms show a strong biological grouping, denotes daughter-in-law as "pleasing woman" and son-in-law as "pleasing man." Further analysis of the kinship terms would yield very surprising results, and I dare say that the next step in kinship investigation is an analytic study of the terms. So, all papers like this, which attempt to interpret or to test social conditions before exhaustive term analysis has been made, will have to be regarded only as beginnings.

The Ojibwa and Cree have been cited as offering a contradictory aspect in the matter of exogamy and kinship nomenclature, for the reason that both have the exogamic system of terms while the Cree have not the exogamic social grouping. The great majority of Ojibwa terms are cognate with those of the Cree-Montagnais-Wabanaki group. But since the latter do not have the gentile organization, nor do they observe exogamy, we may assume that the classifying tendency either has not developed among them or has not reached them. Both the Ojibwa and their congeners as well, however, do have the paternal territorial band divisions. Hence in the case of the Ojibwa, we may tentatively account for the outside influences producing exogamy and classification in certain of the kinship terms; influences accountable through dif-

LeClercq, writing as early as 1691, makes the following interesting statements regarding the distribution of orphans among the Micmac: "If there is any widow who is unable to support her children the old men take charge of them and distribute and give them to the best hunters, with whom they live neither more nor less than as if they were the actual children of the wigwam." Cf. C. LeClercq, *New Relation of Gaspesia*, edition of the Champlain Society, Toronto, 1910, by W. F. Ganong, p. 117. On p. 238 the substance of the above is given again and the author adds: "If when the father of a family is dead the widow contracts a second marriage it is necessary that the eldest son take the care of his brothers and sisters and that he build a separate wigwam for them."

fusion from peoples south of them among whom definite unilineal grouping is a characteristic.¹

The levirate, as Sapir indicates,² I also believe, is an institution deserving more attention among investigators. In this region the levirate is strictly in accordance with the requirements of the family band grouping and since the tribes of the area generally follow both institutions, it lays a great responsibility upon the levirate as a contributing explanatory factor in kinship nomenclature.³

Let us see how the levirate, applied as a test, works out in explaining the terminology of the Timagami Ojibwa who not only are organized on the basis of the family territorial band, but who also have the exogamic gentile system.

¹ In another paper, "Family Hunting Territories and Social Life of Various Algonkin Bands of the Ottawa Valley," *Memoir 70 (Anthropological Series No. 8) Geological Survey of Canada*, I have given some results of a study of a small band of Ojibwa at Lake Timagami, a northern branch of the tribe which has extended its habitat in recent times into northern Ontario. Here the terms abound in classification, but the gentile organization has weakened. I have indicated it as my opinion in this paper that we can trace the weakening of the gentile organization in the historical changes undergone by the band, through dissociation with the older gentile stock. The facts are fairly consistent here, for the general loss of complexity in economic as well as social and religious life shows how the Timagami people have conformed, through intermixture with non-gentile Algonkian, to a new environment. Moreover, all of the potential relationships of the family territorial band are present in the terms here in about the same way as in the related tribes to the north and east who have the same local grouping but no exogamy or gentile descent.

² E. Sapir, "Terms of Relationship and the Levirate," *American Anthropologist* (N.S.), vol. 18, no. 3, 1916.

³ Although the institution has not been systematically reported on among all the tribal groups of the northeast we have nevertheless a number of authentic statements. The writer found that the Montagnais of the lower St. Lawrence used to require a widower to marry his deceased wife's sister "as his next choice, so that his children would not be liable to maltreatment." LeClercq (*op. cit.*, p. 238) says of the Micmac: "After the death of one's brother it is permissible to marry his wife in order that she may have children of the same blood if she has not had any by her first husband." LeClercq (*Cf. First Establishment of the Faith in New France*, translated by J. G. Shea, N. Y., 1881, vol. 2, p. 134) elsewhere refers to the custom among the northern Indians and says that they often take several sisters that they may agree better.

Among the Penobscot and modern Micmac the custom is well known through tradition.

stepson, <i>niŋwə'skawan</i> ¹	stepdaughter, <i>ninda'niskawan</i>
son, <i>niŋwi's</i>	daughter, <i>ninda'nis</i>
brother's son, <i>nindo'ziməs</i> ²	brother's daughter, <i>nindo'ziməs</i>
sister's son, <i>nindo'ziməs</i>	sister's daughter, <i>nindo'ziməs</i>
stepfather, <i>nici'cēc</i>	stepmother, <i>ninu'cēc</i>
paternal uncle, <i>nici'cēc</i>	maternal aunt, <i>ninu'cēc</i>
father, <i>nu'se</i>	mother, <i>niŋga'</i>
father's brother's child ³ <i>nidjki'weka-</i>	brother, <i>nidjki''we</i>
<i>wan</i> (masculine)	
mother's sister's child, <i>ninda'wema-</i>	sister, <i>nindawe'ma</i>
<i>kawan</i> (feminine)	

A feature not distinguished here, the presence of which would settle absolutely the question of the influence of the levirate in the groupings of these terms is differentiation of man's brother's child and man's sister's child, since the latter could not come into the filial relationship by the custom of the levirate though he could by being adopted by his maternal uncle. This is the case both in social practice and in the kinship indications among the Wabanaki tribes, where the differentiation of the terms involved confirms the levirate. I think, however, that possibly the inclusiveness of this category is due to the frequency with which wholesale adoption of a man's sister's and especially of a man's brother's children takes place, on account of frequent orphanage. The above terms in no uncertain sense express the potential relationships of the levirate among the Lake Timagami Ojibwa. A similar deduction may be drawn from the terms of the Montagnais while the complete collateral differentiation in the terms involved in Penobscot and Malecite renders practically certain the deduction of the levirate.

The kinship terms involved in the levirate and nepotic relationship in Penobscot are as follows:

¹ The Ojibwa and Montagnais suffix *-kawan* means "not of pure (blood) descent."

² Literally "my (dear) little child," contraction of *nin-d-awa's-imis*; *awa's-i's* "child." Cf. also Cree *ntojim* nephew (p. 200), *n'l'awâssimis* "my child" (p. 128), Father A. Lacombe, *Dictionnaire de la Langue des Cris*, Montreal, 1874.

³ These are the general terms. Through an oversight this term was omitted from the list given in the paper on the Timagami band referred to on the preceding page.

son, <i>ne'mon</i>	daughter, <i>ndu's</i>
brother's son, <i>ne'ma'ni'mi's</i> , "my little pet son"	brother's daughter, <i>ndu'zi'mi's</i> , "my little pet daughter"
sister's son, <i>nda'wqəm</i> , "my child" ¹	sister's daughter, <i>səmə's</i>
stepson, } stepdaughter, } <i>ndapa'k'wəni'gan</i>	"the one I wrap about and protect"
father, <i>nam'i'iqəŋwəs</i> , "my generator"	mother, <i>ni'ga'wəs</i> , "one who bore me"
father's brother, <i>ni'djəluk</i>	mother's sister, <i>ngi'zi's</i>
stepfather, } grandfather, } <i>nɣmo'su'məs</i>	stepmother, } grandmother, } <i>no'kəməs</i>
brother	sister, }
half-brother, }	half-sister, }
cousin (man speaking), }	cousin (man speaking), }
paternal cousin (male), }	paternal cousin (female), }
maternal cousin (male), }	maternal cousin (female), }
	<i>nəbəhe'</i> , <i>nəmum</i> "my woman" <i>nadəŋk'wəsə's</i> - <i>kwe</i> ²

Through this series of terms one can perceive the underlying significance of the levirate in specific cases. Thus in the case of my father's death, my mother could marry my father's brother or else her sister's husband, both of whom are *ni'djəluk* (Penobscot) to me, in other words potential stepfathers through the operation of the levirate. So also the man who takes his deceased brother's wife and her children (his nephews and nieces) calls them *ne'ma'ni'mis* and *ndu'zi'mi's* terms derived from those for son and daughter. Or he may term them descriptively stepson and stepdaughter. Similarly among brothers and sisters, half-brothers and sisters and cousins the terms are in harmony. The other terms also seem to define their relationship in the light of the levirate.

In a region like that which we are investigating, where exogamy, it appears, can hardly be thought of as a sole factor in the development of relationship terms, we are left to the alternative of regarding the institution of the family territorial band and some such feature within it as the levirate, as influencing agents. As Dr. Sapir intimates in general, in an attempt at explanation it seems about as plausible, in the case of this particular group of tribes, to lay stress upon the influence of the levirate itself in its local economic setting, as on any other single social principle.

¹ This denotes the period just out of babyhood.

² -s'kwe feminine suffix.

Dr. Lowie¹ in a recent article has interpreted the Cree and Ojibwa phenomena as due probably to the loss of an earlier exogamic grouping among the Cree. It seems to me that a more plausible suggestion is that the Cree and Ojibwa and the other northern and eastern Algonkian, whose organization possesses the family territorial band, were none of them originally exogamic, but that the paternal tendencies of the family band universal among them are connected with the form in which the kinship terms appear, a somewhat classificatory form throughout the whole area.

Ojibwa, then, is classificatory in kinship, not because the tribe is exogamic, but for other reasons. In the nature of a suggestion without further details for a basis, I may say as before that the levirate and the common northern type of society appear to fill the explanatory requirements.

I have just given my main conclusions. Since, however, I have undertaken in this paper to present a little material from a somewhat overlooked field, the following points may prove suggestive. In talking over kinship terms and their uses with informants I have been impressed with the probability that the agencies which operate toward the adoption of some particular category in nomenclature are often trivial ones; much more trivial than some investigators might care to admit. In the area under discussion I think it has become evident as a possibility that local linguistic usage, resulting in differences within an area, has developed from causes which were local and relatively trivial. While linguistic analysis of terms is in this regard an absolute necessity, does it not seem that the variable use of diminutives, of the classifying terms, even of the vocatives, may have arisen through local usage in terms of baby-talk, endearment and respect? In the northeast where the bonds of kinship are loosely recognized in the family group, as well as among friends, the use of terms is correspondingly loose, and so we may account for some of the irregularities which occur in tribal systems over even a restricted area.

It is interesting to note a few more points of character in the

¹ "Exogamy and the Classificatory Systems of Relationship," *American Anthropologist* (N.S.), vol. 17, no. 2 (1915), p. 235.

kinship systems of these tribes. Vocatives in general in all these dialects occur with greater frequency in the terms involving address within the immediate family as shortened forms of the non-vocatives denoting endearment. The final syllable is changed to *i*. A trace of the source of some of the vocative forms is perhaps betrayed by the baby-talk terms which appear here and there in the lists. It is true of the Timagami Ojibwa that several of the vocatives do come from such affectations, for example, *djudju*, vocative for "mother" (from *noni*, "to suckle," or *totos*, "breast") and *data*, vocative for "father." The former we see again as *nunu'n*, a baby-talk vocative in Penobscot and a formal term in Abenaki (list B) and the latter as *dada(n, t)* in similar circumstances. The mere fact that these terms appear in three functional series, as simple baby-talk addresses, as formal kinship terms, and as vocatives in a close linguistic group, is by itself suggestive in this respect.

With some exceptions, to be noted, reciprocal terms are almost completely wanting in the Eastern Woodland area, as has already been noted by Lowie.¹ They are only sparingly employed among the various kinds of brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, and between husband and wife, in other words between those related by marriage. Another negative point of importance is that here no radical change in the terms takes place to denote deceased relatives. The age differentiation in terms for brother, sister (and even for cousins on both sides in Penobscot and Malecite) include three forms; general terms for brother and sister, a distinct one for elder brother and elder sister, and a common term for younger brother and younger sister. In the first and second categories there are separate forms according to the sex of the speaker.

The terms themselves seem to fall into two categories. In one of these we have generic stems like Penobscot *no''kam*, *nidji'e*, *ndus*, *nada'ηk''w*, *nsəgwu's*, expressing fundamental relationships and from some of which certain other specific terms are derived. They include quite a number of the classificatory terms in the list and these show more uniformity throughout the stock than do the

¹ R. H. Lowie, "Historical and Sociological Interpretation of Kinship Terminologies," *Holmes Anniversary Volume* (1916), p. 296.

others.¹ In the other category are composite terms which furnish for the most part the points of differentiation which we notice in designations among the dialects of the region. In the latter group of words analysis is often possible. On the whole it seems that here, where the etymological possibilities are retained, we have an illustration of terms of more recent origin.

In the following list collections of terms denoting kinship are presented from the principal northeastern tribes. Before offering lists like these for objective use, however, a word or two of explanation concerning the sources is desirable because it often makes some difference when, where, and under what circumstances the vocabularies are taken down. Individuals frequently differ in term usage; synonyms are optionally given or passed by, while confusion occasionally reigns in the mind of him who is trying hard to give definite renderings to terms which are not in common use. Informants sometimes even surprised me by contradicting each other in regard to the limitations of brother-in-law and sister-in-law terms and those for nephew and niece. In order not to overlook specific terms, especially those for the more remote degrees of relationship, I employed several native authorities in the preparation of the lists which I obtained myself. In these also the term analyses and the translations are the combination of chosen interpreters' knowledge and grammatical analysis.

The terms in the first column are Penobscot. They were recorded at Oldtown, Maine, with the help of Newell Lyon. List A, St. Francis Abenaki, has been arranged from the vocabularies given by Sosap Lolô (Joseph Laurent) in his book on the Abenaki language.² The orthography has been altered from the original, in accordance with my own notes in this dialect, to correspond to the authorized system in use among students of American linguistics. List B was taken down from Maude Benedict at Lake George in 1908. The circumstance of interest here is that some of the terms are derived from baby talk (terms 1, 2, 5,) and that some of the

¹ Morgan, and more recently Michelson, (*op. cit.* p. 297) have noted the underlying similarity in the terms.

² Joseph Laurent, *New Familiar Abenakis and English Dialogues*, Quebec, 1884.

regular formal terms are replaced by diminutives of the baby-talk terms (3, 4, 7, 11, 12). The question presents itself, is this usage a primitive characteristic or is it a reminder of linguistic decay? The occurrence of cognate terms in formal use was a feature of Mohegan in southern New England,¹ and it may be true that idiomatic features like these which were general to the southern New England dialects were conveyed to the composite Abenaki people in one of the migrations which carried the central New England tribes, like the Pigwaket and Pennacook, to the St. Francis village almost two centuries ago. On the other hand we should not overlook the fact that the process of culture decline has gone further among the Abenaki than among the others of the northeastern group. The Malecite list was recently obtained through the combined efforts of Gabe Paul, Mrs. Nellie Tomer, and Gabe Perley. Little requires at present to be said about these terms except to note that they appeal rather more closely to those of the Micmac than do the other Wabanaki terms. The terms in the Micmac column are the contribution of Mrs. Frank Lewis, who is a native of the village of Restigouche, New Brunswick. Morgan's list of Micmac and Malecite terms² differs from these in the identity of several of the niece and nephew terms. The only other differences are due to his system of spelling. The Montagnais list was taken at Escoumains, Quebec, in 1915 from Mrs. Joseph Nicolar.

¹ See footnote 4, page 156.

² L. H. Morgan, "Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity," *Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge*, vol. xvii. (1871), pp. 293 seq.

	Penobscot	St. Francis Abenaki		Malecite and Passamaquoddy	Micmac	Montagnais (Escoumains Band)
		List A	List B			
father.....	<i>nəmi'iq'ngwəsi</i>	<i>nəmi'iqgwə's</i>	<i>ndada'n²</i>	<i>nəmi'ta'k^ws</i> (<i>ndada't</i>)	<i>nulc</i>	<i>nola'wi¹</i>
mother.....	<i>ni'ga'wəs³</i>	<i>nigawə's</i>	<i>nunū'n⁴</i>	<i>ni'gəwəs</i>	<i>nki'tc</i>	<i>nəqa'wi³</i>
stepfather.....	<i>nəmo su'məs</i>	<i>n'ɔ'dji'k^w</i>	<i>ndadani's⁵</i>	<i>nəmo su'məs</i>	<i>ni'ickami'tc</i>	
stepmother.....	<i>no'kəməs⁶</i>	<i>no'kəmə's</i>	<i>nunūni's</i>	<i>no'kəməs</i>	<i>no'ɣəmi'tc</i>	
grandfather.....	<i>nəms su'məs</i>	<i>nəmo'ho'm¹</i>	<i>nəmon'm</i>	<i>nəmo su'məs</i>	<i>ni'ickami'tc</i>	<i>nəmo'u'm</i>
grandmother.....	<i>no'kəməs</i>	<i>no'kəmə's</i>	<i>no'kəmə's</i>	<i>no'kəməs</i>	<i>no'ɣəmi'tc</i>	<i>noqu'm</i>
paternal aunt.....	<i>no'kəmə</i>	<i>no'kə'm</i>	<i>nunūni's</i>	<i>no'kəmə</i>	<i>nsugwə's</i>	<i>noqumu'c</i>
maternal aunt.....	<i>ngi'ət's</i>	<i>no'kəmə's</i>	<i>nukū'm</i>	<i>ngi'ət's</i>	<i>nələ's</i>	<i>ntus</i>
mother's brother's wife.....	<i>no'kəmə</i>	<i>no'kə'm</i>	<i>nukū'm</i>	<i>no'kəmə</i>		} (descriptive terms)
father's brother's wife.....	<i>ni'di'q'luk</i>	<i>no'kəmə's</i>		<i>ni'di'q'luk^w</i>	<i>nkla'muksi's⁸</i>	
paternal uncle.....	<i>nəza, si's</i>	<i>n'odji'k^w</i>	<i>nza si's</i>	<i>ngla'muksi's</i>	<i>nkla'muksi's</i>	
maternal uncle.....	<i>nəza, si's</i>	<i>n'ɔ'dji'k^w</i>	<i>ndadani's</i>	<i>ni'di'q'luk^w</i>	<i>nkla'muksi's</i>	
mother's sister's husband.....	<i>ni'di'q'luk</i>	<i>nza si's</i>	<i>ndadani's</i>	<i>ngla'muksi's</i>	<i>nkla'muksi's</i>	} (descriptive terms)
father's sister's husband.....	<i>nəza, si's</i>	<i>nza si's</i>	<i>ndadani's</i>			

¹ Literally "my generator."

² In this case the term most commonly used is derived from baby-talk. The formal term, however, is well understood. The Penobscot also know these as baby dialect.

³ Literally "the one who bore me."

⁴ Literally "my breast," again a derivation of baby-talk. Cf. also Mohegan *nə'n'a'ŋ* "my mother," "Notes on the Mohegan and Niantic Indians," F. G. Speck, *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History*, vol. III, p. 193 (1909). Morgan also gives a Mohegan term for grandfather which falls in the class.

⁵ Literally "my little *dada'n*," -is is the diminutive.

⁶ -as ordinarily denotes "old, antiquated."

Again a case of the use of baby-talk, an attempt to pronounce *nəmo'sum*.

⁸ Possibly a derivation of *glu'mə* "to stick something onto something," with -sis diminutive; literally "the one to whom I am fastened."

	Penobscot	Abenaki St. Francis List A and List B ¹	Malecite and Passa- maquoddy	Micmac	Montagnais (Escoumains Band)
m. speaking { brother (general term)	<i>ni'dji'e</i> ¹	<i>ni'dji'a'</i>	<i>nzi'wues'</i>	<i>ni'dji'e'</i>	<i>ni'ci'm</i>
{ male cousin	<i>nada'ngvus</i> ²	<i>nadogwe's</i>	<i>nada'gvus</i>	<i>no'qamau</i> ³	<i>ni'ci'mqa'wan</i> ⁴
w. speaking { brother	<i>nda'lnum</i> ⁵	<i>ni'dobso'</i>	<i>nda'tnum</i>		<i>ni'ci'm</i>
{ male cousin				<i>nici'ganam</i>	<i>ni'ci'm</i>
{ younger brother (m. or w. speaking)	<i>ndoka'ni'mi's</i>	<i>ni'tcemi's</i>	<i>no'si'mi's</i>	<i>nst's</i>	<i>nast'e'</i>
{ older brother (m. or w. speaking)	<i>nzo'e'i's</i>	<i>ni'doka'n</i>	<i>nah'e'zi's</i>		<i>(nastacqa'wan</i> older cousin) <i>ni'ci'm</i>
m. speaking { sister (general term)	<i>naboh'e'nemum</i> ⁷	<i>ni'dobso'</i>	<i>naboh'e'na mum</i>	<i>nkwe'dji'tc</i> ⁸	<i>ni'ci'm</i>
{ female cousin	<i>nada'nhk'wes'kwe</i> ⁹	<i>nadog'wes'kwa'</i>		<i>no'qamau</i>	<i>ni'ci'mqa'wan</i>
{ sister	<i>ni'tse'kes'u</i>	<i>ni'tsakaso'</i>	<i>ni'tse'kes</i>		<i>ni'ci'm</i>
w. speaking { female cousin	<i>(ni'tse'kes'u</i> <i>nadanhk'wo'si's</i>	<i>nadog'wi's</i>	<i>(ni'da'k'wo'si's</i>	<i>no'qamau</i>	<i>ni'ci'm</i>
{ younger sister (m. or w. speaking)	<i>ndoka'ni'mi's</i>	<i>ni'tcemi's</i>	<i>no'si'mi's</i>	<i>nkwe'djit'c</i>	<i>ni'ci'm</i>
{ older sister (m. or w. speaking)	<i>nemo's'i's</i>	<i>nemo's'i's</i>	<i>nemo's'i's</i>	<i>nemo's</i>	<i>nemo'c</i> <i>(nemo'cqa'wan</i> older female cousin)

¹ Derived from *-i'dji* "to go in company with."

² Derivative of *nadanhk'w* (see term for sister's husband).

³ Derived from *akame'* "across," in the relative sense "collateral."

⁴ *-qawan* "not by blood descent."

⁵ Literally "my close relative."

⁶ Literally "my man (reflexive)."

⁷ Literally "my woman."

⁸ Literally "my little woman."

⁹ *-s'kwe*, and *-skwa*, feminine suffixes.

	Penobscot	St. Francis Abenaki		Malecite and Passamaquoddy	Micmac	Montagnais (Escoumains Band)
		List A	List B			
sister's husband (m. speaking)	<i>nada'ŋk'^w</i>	<i>nado'g^w</i>		<i>nama'godemⁱ</i>	<i>nida'k'^w</i> (<i>nema'klem</i>)	{ (descriptive, explan- atory terms)
husband's sister	<i>nada'ŋk'^w</i>	<i>nado'g^w</i>		<i>nada'k'^w</i>	<i>nida'k'^w</i> (<i>nema'klem</i>)	
wife's brother	<i>nada'ŋk'^w</i>	<i>nado'g^w</i>		<i>nama'godem</i>	<i>nida'k'^w</i> (<i>nema'klem</i>)	
brother's wife (w. speaking)	<i>nada'ŋk'^w</i>	<i>nado'g^w</i>		<i>nada'k'^w</i>	<i>nida'k'^w</i>	
brother's wife (m. speaking)	<i>ni'lamu's</i>	<i>ni'la'm</i>		<i>ni'lamus</i>	<i>ni'lamus</i>	
husband's brother	<i>ni'lamu's</i>	<i>ni'la'm</i>		<i>ni'lamus</i>	<i>ni'lamus</i>	{ (descriptive, explan- atory terms)
wife's sister	<i>ni'lamu's</i>	<i>ni'la'm</i>		<i>ni'lamus</i>	<i>ni'lamus</i>	
sister's husband (w. speaking)	<i>ni'lamu's</i>	<i>ni'la'm</i>		<i>ni'lamus</i>	<i>ni'lamus</i>	
wife's sister's husband	<i>ni'lamu's</i>	<i>ni'la'm</i>		<i>ni'lamus</i>	<i>ni'lamus</i>	
husband's brother's wife	<i>ni'lamu's</i>	<i>ni'la'm</i>		<i>ni'lamus</i>	<i>ni'lamus</i>	
wife's brother's wife	<i>ni'lamu's</i>	<i>ni'la'm</i>		<i>ni'lamus</i>	<i>ni'lamus</i>	{ (descriptive, explan- atory terms)
husband's sister's husband	<i>nada'ŋk'^w</i>	<i>nado'g^w</i>		<i>ni'lamus</i>	<i>ni'lamus</i>	
daughter's husband's father	<i>nada'ŋk'^w</i>	<i>nado'g^w</i>		<i>ni'lamus</i>	<i>ni'lamus</i>	
mother	<i>nada'ŋk'^w</i>	<i>nado'g^w</i>		<i>ni'lamus</i>	<i>ni'lamus</i>	
son's wife's father	<i>nada'ŋk'^w</i>	<i>nado'g^w</i>		<i>ni'lamus</i>	<i>ni'lamus</i>	
husband	<i>ndo'dem³</i>	<i>nado'g^w</i>		<i>ni'lamus</i>	<i>ni'lamus</i>	{ (descriptive, explan- atory terms)
wife	<i>ndo'dem³</i>	<i>nado'g^w</i>		<i>ni'lamus</i>	<i>ni'lamus</i>	
daughter's husband	<i>ndo'dem³</i>	<i>nado'g^w</i>		<i>ni'lamus</i>	<i>ni'lamus</i>	
son's wife	<i>ndo'dem³</i>	<i>nado'g^w</i>		<i>ni'lamus</i>	<i>ni'lamus</i>	
husband's sister's husband	<i>ndo'dem³</i>	<i>nado'g^w</i>		<i>ni'lamus</i>	<i>ni'lamus</i>	
daughter's husband's father	<i>ndo'dem³</i>	<i>nado'g^w</i>		<i>ni'lamus</i>	<i>ni'lamus</i>	{ (descriptive, explan- atory terms)
mother	<i>ndo'dem³</i>	<i>nado'g^w</i>		<i>ni'lamus</i>	<i>ni'lamus</i>	
son's wife's father	<i>ndo'dem³</i>	<i>nado'g^w</i>		<i>ni'lamus</i>	<i>ni'lamus</i>	
husband	<i>ndo'dem³</i>	<i>nado'g^w</i>		<i>ni'lamus</i>	<i>ni'lamus</i>	
wife	<i>ndo'dem³</i>	<i>nado'g^w</i>		<i>ni'lamus</i>	<i>ni'lamus</i>	
daughter's husband	<i>ndo'dem³</i>	<i>nado'g^w</i>		<i>ni'lamus</i>	<i>ni'lamus</i>	{ (descriptive, explan- atory terms)
son's wife	<i>ndo'dem³</i>	<i>nado'g^w</i>		<i>ni'lamus</i>	<i>ni'lamus</i>	
wife's father	<i>ndo'dem³</i>	<i>nado'g^w</i>		<i>ni'lamus</i>	<i>ni'lamus</i>	
husband's father	<i>ndo'dem³</i>	<i>nado'g^w</i>		<i>ni'lamus</i>	<i>ni'lamus</i>	
wife's husband's father	<i>ndo'dem³</i>	<i>nado'g^w</i>		<i>ni'lamus</i>	<i>ni'lamus</i>	
husband's father	<i>ndo'dem³</i>	<i>nado'g^w</i>		<i>ni'lamus</i>	<i>ni'lamus</i>	{ (descriptive, explan- atory terms)
wife's husband's father	<i>ndo'dem³</i>	<i>nado'g^w</i>		<i>ni'lamus</i>	<i>ni'lamus</i>	
husband's father	<i>ndo'dem³</i>	<i>nado'g^w</i>		<i>ni'lamus</i>	<i>ni'lamus</i>	
wife's husband's father	<i>ndo'dem³</i>	<i>nado'g^w</i>		<i>ni'lamus</i>	<i>ni'lamus</i>	
husband's father	<i>ndo'dem³</i>	<i>nado'g^w</i>		<i>ni'lamus</i>	<i>ni'lamus</i>	

¹ Derived from a profane sexual term in modern use.

² A term of considerable sociological importance since the correlatives are potential partners. The association frequently figures in the myths. Cf. S. T. Rand, *Legends of the Micmacs*, p. 357, "wechoostijik (the two men whose wives were sisters) were on the best of terms and were much together." Authors' minds often run in the same channel for we note that C. G. Leland, *Algonquin Legends of New England*, p. 355, also speaks of this friendship. He says "two men whose wives were sisters (wechoosjik) were on the best of terms and much together."

³ Literally "my comrade of another descent." The term is used modernly among the Penobscot to designate a friend of another tribe or race in the ordinary sense, for instance "my white man friend" when an Indian is speaking. In the text of one of the myths the term *udo'demago* "his own master" is used in reference to a dog and his master. The form here is cognate to the common Algonkian *n'lot, m.*

⁴ Literally "the one who lives with me."

⁵ Literally "my man."

⁶ Literally "my woman."

⁷ -(h)os denotes a mild degree of scorn (for example the proper name *Sakhos* "that old Jacques (Sak)"). Evidently something like "that old marriage connection of mine" is the meaning conveyed. Cf. *ndakzi'idaman*, "I marry into such and such a family."

	Penobscot	Abenaki St. Francis List A and List B	Malecite and Passamaquoddy	Micmac	Montagnais (Escou- mains Band)
son.....	ne'mon	namu'n	nôgwu's	nquas	nquas's
daughter.....	ndu's ¹	ndos	ndos	ntus	ndanc
stepson.....	} ndapa'ti'w ² ni'gan ³ nda'wqas ³		} ndapa'ti'w ² ni'gan nalo'k'ni's (mal.)	nquas	nquas
stepdaughter.....				ntus	ndanc
sister's son (m. s.).....			nlaw ⁴ zəm	nəlu'ks	nlo'cam ⁵
(w. s.).....	nema'ni'mi's ⁴	namuni'mi's (namuni'mi'zə'm 'younger')	nemari'mi's		nlo'cam
brother's son (m. s.).....	nema'ni'mi's		nemari'mi's	nəlu'ks	nlo'cam
(w. s.).....	nda'wqasəm	namuni'mi's	nlaw ⁴ zəm		nlo'cam
sister's daughter (m. s.).....	səmə's		ndozi'mi's	nsəm	nlocəmsquə'm
(w. s.).....	ndozi'mi's ⁴	ndozi'mi's	nəlo'k'ni's		nlocəmsquə'm
brother's daughter (m. s.).....	ndozi'mi's	ndozi'mi's	nəlo'k'ni's	nsəm	nlocəmsquə'm
(w. s.).....	səmə's	ndozi'mi's (ndozi'mi'zə'm 'younger')	ndozi'mi's		nlocəmsquə'm
wife's or } nephew.....	nema'ni'mi's nduzi'mi's				
husband's }.....					
wife's or } niece.....					
husband's }.....					

¹ Possibly a worn-down form of *n-d-awas*, "my creature" in the literal sense. Cf. *n-d-awasi's*, "my child" and terms for niece and nephew above. Speakers sometimes distinguish age grades as *ndu'zi's*, "my younger daughter."

² Literally "one whom I wrap up and protect." Cf. *ndadape'gənəman* "I cover up with a wrapping of skins."

³ Literally "my pet child" (*awasi's* "little child" (Penobscot)).

⁴ *imi's* diminutive of endearment, literally "my dear little son."

⁵ Literally "my female child."

⁶ Literally "my dear little daughter."

	Penobscot	Abenaki St. Francis List B	Malecite	Micmac	Montagnais (Escou- mains Band)
great-grandfather }	<i>kici' namo'su'mas</i>	<i>kici' namoumi''s¹</i>	<i>bi' 'tawi'²</i>	<i>kici'</i>	<i>nla'nsqutaba'n</i>
great-uncles }			<i>namo'sum's</i>	<i>ni' 'ickami'lc</i>	<i>mocu'm</i>
great-grandmother. }	<i>kici' no'kamas</i>	<i>kici' nokama's</i>	<i>bi' 'tawi'</i>	<i>kici'</i>	<i>nla'nsqutaba'n</i>
great-aunts }	<i>nkwe'nas</i>	<i>nu'sas</i>	<i>no'kamas</i>	<i>no' 'amii'c</i>	<i>noqu'm</i>
grandchild (male or female) }		<i>kici' nu'sas</i>	<i>nague'nas</i>	<i>nodji'lc</i>	<i>noss'm</i>
great-grandchild }					

¹ Literally "great (big) my little grandfather."

² Literally "under (adjective) my grandfather."